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Rockefeller's Speechwriters: New evidence that Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York intends to follow the Modern Republican path has appeared in an obscure corner of *The New York Times*. But it is of such a nature that even the most hardened politicos in the Capital are visibly shocked.

In a story from its Albany bureau, the Times *reports that the newly named assistant press secretary to New York's Governor is the very man who, last fall, was cranking out speeches attacking candidate Rockefeller. For Rockefeller gave this post to Robert L. McManus, a Democrat who served as assistant secretary to Democratic Governor Averell Harriman for the past two years, and who was Harriman's chief speechwriter in the gubernatorial campaign. It is considered certain that McManus will write at least some of Rockefeller's public addresses.*

"News of the appointment," reports the *Times*, "surprised [Albany]. It could not be recalled when a Governor had given as rewarding a job to not only a member of the opposite party but [to] one also intimately associated with its high command."

Governor Rockefeller, the paper further reports, now has secured the services of four former newspapermen, all of whom have been enrolled Democrats: McManus; Richard Amper, press secretary; Harry J. O'Donnell, assistant secretary for reports; and Francis A. Jamieson, personal public relations counsel and special assistant.

Jamieson—HUMAN EVENTS learns—has an interesting history. Before going to Albany, he had served for several years as public relations counsel ("inside man") in the office of the Rockefeller Brothers firm. The "outside" public relations counsel of the Rockefeller Brothers has for many years been Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, left-wing Democrat and once an official in the Truman regime. In New York much credit is given Mrs. Rosenberg for Rockefeller's public relations build-up and for linking up left-wingers behind him in his bid for the Governorship.

This monolithic Democratic press and public relations entourage of Governor Rockefeller amazes Washington as much as it did Albany. One Member of Congress remarks: "In the last New York campaign, Rockefeller promised to give New York citizens an entirely different kind of administration from that furnished by Governor Harriman. If Rockefeller is sincere, how can he honestly employ the same speechwriter who in the last two years wrote addresses for the purpose of persuading New York citizens that Harriman's policies were best for the state?"

Some Republicans retort that Rockefeller was not sincere in the campaign and intends—with such an entourage—to give New York state much the same New Deal regime as did his predecessor. Midwestern Republicans perceive in this picture further confirmation of their belief that Nelson Rockefeller will seek to capture the Republican convention in 1960 in order to make the GOP into a New Deal organization.

How Mikoyan Was Stopped: Here follows the inside story of the State Department proceedings whereby Under Secretary C. Douglas Dillon rebuked Mikoyan's attempt to blackmail financial support from the US. The architect of this climactic scene was Secretary of State Dulles himself, who almost word for word coached Dillon beforehand on what to say.

When the Russian asked for long-term credits for delivery of American equipment, Dillon brought him up short. The Secretary told Mikoyan that America did not propose to give such credits to Soviet Russia, or to any other country that had been so long and flagrantly in default of its financial obligations. He reminded the visitor that there was a considerable sum of Czarist debts for which the US held the USSR accountable.

In addition, Dillon made use of the fact that Soviet Russia, through its emissary Maxim Litvinov in 1933, obtained diplomatic recognition by the United States on the promise (among other pledges) that American interests which had suffered confiscation and damage as a result of the Bolshevik revolution would be indemnified. This, together with the other promises, was not fulfilled. Finally, there was the matter of Lend Lease, $8 billion worth of goods which enabled Stalin to repel the Nazi invaders in World War II, and on which not a cent has been paid.

Mikoyan was so angry, after Dillon dismissed him with these words, that he sallied forth to attack our Government in what one British writer (René McColl of the London *Daily Express*) called "unforgiveable remarks," delivered to Washington's National Press Club. The picture Mikoyan had created in two weeks of stumping the country—that of an affable super-salesman—abruptly changed into that of a snarling, insolent lackey of the Kremlin. The edifice built up by an apparently well-laid public relations plan—lunches with businessmen, window-shopping, walks in the park, *etc.*—crashed to earth in one of the biggest reversals witnessed and covered by the Washington press in many years.

Who built this edifice?—is a question debated in clubs

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and corridors of the Nation's Capital. Some press-conscious people attribute the work to Eric Johnston, agent of the motion picture industry, with a definite axe to grind for that business; others to Amtorg, the Soviet purchasing commission in this country. It is pointed out that the fiscal agent for Amtorg and the Soviet Government is the Chase-Manhattan Bank, where John J. McCloy—long a member of the White House kitchen cabinet—serves as Chairman of the Board. This is the Rockefeller bank. A considerable chain of business contacts and associations was therefore readily available, through which meetings, luncheons, dinners with groups of business and professional men could be arranged. The press in the Capital knows well that shows such as that which Mikoyan staged for a fortnight are not spontaneous; a public relations network is always involved.

Mikoyan's visible fury provided confirmation for the view, reported by HUMAN EVENTS in its issue of December 22, 1958, that he came here, not to "fix up" the Berlin affair, but to get a whopping loan from the US Government. When he failed in his objective, he let off steam. He did succeed, however, in projecting an image of a Soviet leader consorting amiably with American business figures, and the Soviet propaganda system has utilized this extensively to discourage rebellious elements behind the Iron Curtain, who have preserved hope that America is sympathetic with them in their efforts to throw off the Communist yoke.

Under the Dome: The dictatorial but clever parliamentary tactics of Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson blocked the attempts of the Douglas-Humphrey "liberals," seeking to erase filibusters and eliminate the 170-year old check on majority rule in the upper house. Johnson held up assignments of members to committees until he got a vote on his compromise bill (which was acceptable to most Southerners). The newly elected Democratic "liberals" found it prudent to restrain their leftish inclinations and permit the Senate Leader to have his way. Lyndon has Presidential ambitions and knows he has to keep the Southerners in the party.

● *"Liberals" in the House have also suffered setbacks. "Mr. Sam" Rayburn, Democratic Speaker of the House, is himself a "liberal," but above all he wants to run the show. He obviously feared the arrival of 53 new Democratic "liberals" would undermine his own dictatorial power. Hence, he allowed conservative Southern Democrats and conservative Northern Republicans to stack the three key committees of the House—Rules, Ways and Means, and Appropriations.*

Now the new "liberals" in his party have to come, hat in hand, to the Speaker to get help for their pet measures; otherwise their bills stand no show of getting through these committees to the floor. For only the Speaker has the power to force bills out of committee. "Mr. Sam" is still on top.

● *Long-standing supporters of the House Committee on Un-American Activities believe that they have decisively checked pro-Communist attempts to abolish the famous probe group; moreover, they want to bring an "abolition" measure proposed by leftist Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt (D.-Cal.) out on the floor at an early date. They feel sure they have such an overwhelming majority of the votes that they can kill the Roosevelt proposal decisively for this session.*

The unanimous decision of House Republicans to support the Committee offers a solid base of voting strength, and puts many middle-of-the-road Democrats on the spot; for the latter do not want to go on record as blocking the investigation and exposure of the Communist conspiracy.

Political Action: GOP Chairman Alcorn can find a prototype for the "year-around" campaign organization he demanded at the Des Moines Republican conclave last week. A blueprint for political action looking towards 1960 has appeared in the plans of "The Republican Associates" in Los Angeles County, California. Raymond Moley, in a recent column (The Associated Newspapers, 229 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.), hails this organization as a very hopeful development and states that the Republican National Committee, if it "really wants to do something about bringing out the votes necessary to victory . . . should encourage something like this everywhere."

Republican Associates has been in operation for several years and has racked up a good record of achievement. It should be noted that in Los Angeles County, where it operates, the GOP did not do so badly as elsewhere in the November elections. Before the elections, eight of the 12 Congressional districts in this county had Republican Representatives; only one of these bit the dust in the November debacle.

Republican Associates, Moley reports, has for several years had its own organization for recruiting and training volunteers in the precincts, and also a research setup to prepare and publish material for the guidance of volunteer workers and voters. It works closely with the regular GOP County Committee.

Its new plan for 1960 involves reorganization of the party and establishment of a close liaison between the party and leaders in the business community. As described by Moley in his column, the plan projects employment of full-time professional managers, an executive for the entire county, a full-time finance director, full-time paid precinct directors and a public relations director. The Associates estimate that the entire annual cost of such an organization would run to no more than $300,000.

Labor Front: The labor bosses' representation on Capitol Hill continues to grow in strength. Outdoing even the office of Congressman Gerald Flynn (D.-Wis.)—who appointed a former UAW official as his administrative assistant (see HUMAN EVENTS for December 15, 1958)—is that of Congressman Joseph Karth (D.-Minn.). Karth, himself a former international representative for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, last month announced the appointment of his administrative assistant: one Robert Schaller, former director of public relations for the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

The appointment of Schaller reinforces the dominance of the AFL-CIO in the Democratic party in St. Paul.

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Karth's own nomination as Democratic candidate for the district was reputedly the result of the labor bosses' desire for complete mastery over the party. Karth won the nomination to Congress against the opposition of St. Paul's Mayor Joseph Dillon. "Mr. Dillon," the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press* noted last fall, "who had just been re-elected Mayor with labor support, aspired to go to Congress and filed for the nomination, as he had every right to do. But this time the labor leadership had decided it was not enough to be politically acceptable to themselves—the candidate must be no mere Democrat, but one from the ranks of labor leadership itself. They decided on . . . Mr. Karth, and Mr. Karth was nominated. Mr. Dillon and all who stood by him were given the stigma of disloyalty, and now are to be punished for their independence."

Budget: Conservatives on the Hill remark that there's plenty of fat to cut from the President's $77 billion Budget. For instance, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare gets $89 million more in the fiscal 1960 Budget than it got last year. Probing further, Members of Congress discover that the new Budget calls for HEW outlays of $3,139,719,000—which amounts to better than $1 billion more than the department got in 1954. The average conservative member wants to know why—if so much zeal is to be lavished in the fight against inflation and paring Federal spending to balance the Budget—HEW isn't cut back to the 1954 level. After all, it's a "civilian agency" and has no bearing on national defense.

One answer is that the Secretary of HEW is one Arthur Flemming, long a bureaucrat under the Truman regime. In its issue of December 10, 1952, HUMAN EVENTS, noting new appointments by President-elect Eisenhower, mentioned the naming of Dr. Arthur S. Flemming to Ike's "streamlining the bureaucracy" commission. Flemming had filled positions under the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations.

This publication relayed the warnings of old hands, who said that "Flemming is a New Dealer," and that he was the man "largely responsible for making more cumbersome and complicated the regulation of the whole bureaucracy." Flemming moved up to his Cabinet position at Health, Education and Welfare, last year—supposedly as a more "conservative" replacement for Marion Folsom.

High Court: Once more Congress will attempt to curb the left-wing antics of the Warren Court in the fields of states' rights and subversion. Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) has tossed into the hopper a bill to reverse the effect of the Court's *Nelson* decision of April, 1956, which voided the sedition laws of 42 states. A similar bill was narrowly defeated in the last session, by a vote of 41-40, as a result of some devious maneuvering by Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (see HUMAN EVENTS for September 1, 1958).

Feeding the wrath of conservatives against the Court is the report that Chief Justice Earl Warren was responsible for throttling a firmly anti-Communist report prepared by a key committee of the American Bar Association. This report, hitting the Court's string of pro-Communist decisions, was prepared for presentation to the ABA convention last August. For reasons undisclosed at the time, it was never published (see HUMAN EVENTS for September 22, 1958).

Speculation that Warren was responsible for suppression of the report is tied in this week with the news that he has, somewhat mysteriously, resigned his membership in the ABA. The ABA revoked Warren's membership at the beginning of this year, because of nonpayment of dues; but the Chief Justice protested that he had written a letter of resignation to the group in September of 1957—a letter which the ABA said it never received.

It is noteworthy that the 1957 date for the resignation would place it right after the ABA meeting in London that year, when Warren heard another committee report blasting the work of his Court, drawn up by former Senator Herbert O'Conor (D.-Md.).

Trade With Soviets: To conclude a trade deal with the Soviet Union would have disastrous economic effects —as well as a catastrophic political and moral impact on the enemies of communism. This is the conclusion of experts in foreign trade who survey US import requirements, and who know the political ins and outs of our trade program. Here is an analysis passed to HUMAN EVENTS by a trade expert in a Federal Government office:

"A review of the past trade relations between the US and the Soviet Union points out few if any advantages and definitely a long-run disadvantage. Shall we forget the unreliability of Soviet sources of supply, well demonstrated ten years ago when the Soviet Union cut off the supply of manganese ore? (More than 30 per cent of America's manganese requirement was covered by Soviet exports.) . . .

"To obtain new supply sources, America encouraged the development of manganese deposits in allied nations (*e.g.*, Brazil, India, Turkey). The economies of these countries were bolstered considerably by US investments, and exports of strategic raw materials became crucial to the continued health of their economies.

"The case of Turkey, a nation that is staunchly anti-Communist and strategically located, is particularly acute. Turkey has embarked on a bold industrialization program, which includes the development of her mineral resources, particularly chromites. Today Turkey is undergoing a grave economic crisis, marked by declining exports. Since chromium ore is one of her principal cash commodities up for sale abroad, a further decline caused by American purchase of chromites from the Soviet Union will only add to her economic plight. (An American firm recently concluded a deal for 80,000 tons of Soviet chromium ore.)"

Where, it is asked, are the vocal "liberals" who constantly demand "foreign aid" to shore up the "economies of the free world"? Why do they not now protest a movement which would do irreparable harm to the economy of one of our strongest allies, while at the same time helping to support the economy of our enemy?

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NAACP: The controversial NAACP absorbed a stinging official condemnation last week from the State of Arkansas. A report issued by a committee of the Arkansas legislature declared: "The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and, wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the Communist apparatus." The data on which the report was based were compiled in hearings which heard witnesses that included Dr. J. B. Matthews and Manning Johnson, a former leading Negro member of the Communist party. Arkansas Attorney General Bruce Bennett said that, to his knowledge, this was the first time that the NAACP had been cited as "subversive" by an official agency.

Pink Slip: California's Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown, who ran for election last fall as a "moderate" Democrat, has begun to show his real colors. Presenting his legislative program to the California legislature, Brown asked the creation of a new outlet for boondoggling, an office of "Consumer Counsel," who would draw $15,000 annually—an idea Brown picked up from Governor Averell Harriman of New York. (Apparently struck by the lack of material available in the California Democratic party, Brown appointed an ex-official of the Harriman Administration to serve as California's new Deputy Director of Public Works.) Other legislative proposals by Brown included a request for a "fair employment practices" law, a rise in the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, and creation of a "State Economic Development Agency."

Additionally, Brown, who had tried to keep his "pink slip" covered up during the campaign, unfurled it to the breeze when Soviet official Anastas Mikoyan paid him a visit in San Francisco. Brown had the distinction of being the first American Governor to extend official greetings to the Red hatchetman, and wasted no time in apologizing to him for anti-Communist demonstrations at the San Francisco airport.

Such protests against the man who betrayed Hungary, Brown said, were "not typically Californian." Brown invited Mikoyan to come back to California for the 1960 Olympics, and told the Soviet boss that he would himself like to visit Russia.

The Associated Press reports that Brown further "proposed to Mikoyan that any Russian-American peace conference which might be held should take place in California 'under the great and ageless redwoods' where both sides would feel the grandeur of nature. . . . The Governor told the Russian leader that Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution has been a great source of misunderstanding between the two countries."

MacArthur: January 26 marked the 79th birthday of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. Dr. Edna Fluegel, a noted researcher on communism and foreign affairs, passed along these reflections upon the approach of the General's birthday:

"When MacArthur said he would rest his case with the historical future, did even he know how rapidly that case would be supported? According to his critics, Japan was supposed to go to pieces, Korea to be unified by diplomacy, free world unity to be strengthened. It didn't happen that way.

"Even to get an armistice in Korea, some of the MacArthur recommendations that were 'too risky' were adopted. Since then, 'going it alone' has become the fashion. War was risked over Lebanon, over Quemoy and the Matsus, and now over Berlin. And everyone, ex-President Truman included, admits the vitally strategic position of Formosa.

"The Democrats are challenging the 'gag' rule and asserting the right of military officers to answer Congress truthfully—the very right they attempted to deny MacArthur . . .

"MacArthur did, in fullest measure, what the times required of him, and his works as well as his warnings have met the test of the historical future."

Between Covers: The current (Winter) issue of *Modern Age*, Russell Kirk's quarterly conservative review, contains a timely survey of the issue of nuclear testing. An article by Arthur Kemp canvasses the main scientific and political questions involved and one by Sidney Tillim analyzes the arguments of the "National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy." Conclusion: the tests should go on.

This issue of *Modern Age* also contains articles by Richard Weaver, Ludwig Freund, Austin Warren, Ernest Van Den Haag and Willmoore Kendall. Subscriptions: $4 a year. Address: 64 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4.

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Article Section I

A Conservative's Fighting Faith

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The Future of Republicanism

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER
Republican of Arizona

VICE PRESIDENT Richard M. Nixon should plant the Republican flag somewhere to the right of the political center and run for the Presidency in 1960 as the candidate of America's conservative majority.

I do not take too seriously a number of newspaper reports that Nixon has been siding with the "liberals" in the Republican party on the matter of party organization of the Senate or on the Budget question. Of course, he might be trying to pacify them, pointing out to them the poor position they have adopted in breaking away from the party that has elected them. I think that the Vice President is fundamentally a conservative and I hope he makes that clear to the people of the country.

Many commentators say it will be either Nixon or Nelson Rockefeller for the GOP nomination in 1960. I think that Rockefeller has yet to make a name for himself politically. He has only been in the state house in Albany a few weeks. In the gubernatorial election in New York in November, there were no debates on issues. It was just a popularity contest.

I think we should try to stop this pattern of popularity contests replacing real, honest to-goodness political contests. We are descending to the Hollywood type of election in which we choose men without even knowing what their political philosophy is. That's what happened in New York.

Judging him politically by the kind of campaign he waged in New York for Governor, I have this thought to offer about Rockefeller. If he should be nominated by the GOP in 1960 for the Presidential race, he would be running on the same platform as the Democrat nominee, who is certain to be a New Dealer. And if we Republicans continue this trend toward "me-tooism," we're through as a party.

There are a number of good issues in the Republican arsenal, which reflect the traditional outlook of the party. Economy in Government is one of these, and I think we Republicans should look forward to paring down sharply the bloated expenditures of today's Federal Government. For example, there is one specific law I would very much like to see amended, and that is the Agriculture Act. I would begin the job this year and whittle it down over a period of five or six years, until we are on a cost-support basis where we can take care of the farmer who suffers financial loss because of such things as vagaries of the weather.

Despite the variety of strong issues from which we have to choose, our party went down to defeat in 1958. I think the lesson of our defeat last November lies in this: the Republican party did not cut a public image sufficiently different from that cut by the Democrat party to warrant Democrats voting Republican, or even to warrant Republicans voting Republican. We did not state our policies and principles and then battle it out along that line. If we had, we could have attracted the independent voters, the disillusioned voters who had been staying away from the polls and the discontented conservative Democrats (who are much more numerous than many commentators imagine).

The Republican party, in my opinion, has to occupy a position to the right. The left is already thoroughly peopled by so-called "liberals" of many varieties, and they—at least in the North—are mostly tied in with the Democrat party. I feel that if Republicans will do as I did—talk openly in favor of conservatism and what it means today—then we can build a strong party.

In my campaign for re-election in the state of Arizona last year, I appealed, not to "liberal" Democrats, but to conservative *Democrats. I commiserated with the latter in their plight, wherein the "liberals"—I prefer to call them "radicals"—had taken over control of the Democrat party reins. I urged them to find a hospitable home by voting Republican—for me, and for the GOP ticket. Although the Democrats have had a much larger registration than Republicans in Arizona, both last year and traditionally, I won by over 35,000 votes out of a total 280,000 cast.*

This shows what can be done. I believe that there are many more conservatives in this country than radicals. But the conservatives have not followed the proper political course in trying to attract these right-wingers. I think, for its political health, the country needs a strong "liberal" party and a strong conservative party, not one party reflecting only one philosophy.

AS FOR THE labor issue: I have frankly criticized the misuse of power and union dues by the labor leaders, and the latter have openly tried to defeat me (although I by no means oppose the existence and growth of trade unionism). Yet, in my election last November, I made my greatest voting gains, compared with my election in 1952, in the more industrial, heavily unionized areas of Arizona. I believe that candidates who follow my course, provided they use modern political methods to get out their vote, will not suffer from anything they say in criticism of the labor oligarchy.

I notice that some Republicans are blaming the presence of right-to-work propositions on state bal-

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lots last fall for Republican defeats in congressional races. I see no convincing evidence of this, and in fact I note a lot of evidence to the contrary. Before last fall's elections there were 18 states that had right-to-work laws; at the end of last fall's campaign there were 19. I think that in some, if not all, of the other states where right-to-work referenda were defeated in November, there were obvious reasons why they failed.

The fact is that last fall Kansas passed right to work by a healthy majority. Partisans of such a law began to form a well-organized movement to that end at least two years prior to the balloting. They debated the matter in the public forum and put over a clear and convincing case. They successfully discredited many mendacious statements about the effect of the right-to-work laws. In the end, the largest industrial area of the state (Wichita), came up with a majority for the law. The secret was obvious: the right-to-work forces had good precinct organization and they made a good case to the public through publicity channels. And conservatives—in Wichita, for instance—came out openly for the reform and waged a dogged fight for it. These right-to-work supporters included many business leaders.

I am aware, of course, that in the state of Ohio a number of good Republicans went down to defeat, together with the proposal for right to work. I have not made a study of that situation; but I note one aspect of it. In 1950, the labor bosses openly challenged the late Senator Taft's bid for re-election because he had a few years previously presumed to curtail their dictatorial rights by gaining passage for the famous Taft-Hartley Act. But this challenge to their respected Senator aroused the people of Ohio; Ohioans organized, precinct by precinct, and created a special organization of labor leaders called Labor's League for Taft. Hundreds of local labor leaders came out openly and called for support of "Mr. Republican." Taft won by a huge majority. None of these steps, however, were taken in Ohio in last fall's election. I think that Republicans who profess to be afraid of the right-to-work issue had better study the Ohio situation, both in 1950 and 1958, more closely.

This issue of voluntary vs. *compulsory unionism is one of the most important subjects before the Nation today. No political figure can shrink from taking a stand on it. My belief is that eventually compulsory unionism will be banned in every state in the Union, that right-to-work laws will be on the statute books from Maine to California. I believe this because what is involved is a basic human right, which will someday have to be legally recognized and protected.*

As I have often emphasized in the past, right-to-work laws do not threaten the existence of trade unions. The facts show that unions have made greater increases in their membership in states having right-to-work laws than in states without them. Right-to-work laws do increase the power of rank-and-file members to call corrupt and radical labor bosses to account. The business agents have to heed the wishes of the rank and file, and cleaner union administration is promoted.

It is an interesting fact that, although many businessmen support the right to work (some big business firms oppose it), business as such gets no immediate or direct benefit from such laws. After the laws are on the books, however, the business climate tends to improve and businessmen do not have to operate in an atmosphere dominated by dictatorial labor bosses. They can rely on a more independent attitude of rank-and-file union members to hold high union officials in check.

Indeed, I think that American businessmen should receive a tribute for their role in the right-to-work movement. Twenty years ago many businessmen opposed the existence of any unions at all in their localities. Now they recognize the right of unions to form and to bargain collectively. But they are also smart enough to realize that responsible union performance depends on free men, on union members who need not fear the tyranny of union bosses, on independent rank-and-filers whose power to check the bosses results in a better social and business climate. I think that this represents a new look among businessmen, represents real "progressive conservatism," and is an important development in the history of the country.

ALL THAT I have written here about the labor issue has important bearing on politics and the political future of conservatives. In 1955 I made a survey for the Republican National Committee on the condition of the party. In it, I predicted what happened to the Republicans in 1958. I pointed out that a vacuum had been created in political organizations, since civil service legislation and the expansion of Federal civil service coverage had been greatly extended and had dried up political patronage. The Democrat party turned to the labor unions to fill up this gap. The Democrat-minded Political Action Committee and COPE provided the political workers and grass-roots organization; but, I pointed out in 1955, the Republicans had nothing comparable.

Today, the situation has deteriorated so greatly that we face two alternatives: (1) either Congress effectively bans all union political activity; or (2) the Republicans roll up their sleeves and form their own grass-roots political action groups to counteract the union attack which in large part defeated them last fall. I recently posed these alternatives to the AFL-CIO and suggested that we talk it over, but the offer was rejected; so it looks to me as if the second alternative is imperative. Conservatives must now create in every state the precinct-by-precinct organization which is necessary for victory in 1960. But first there must be a statement of principle and evidence of leadership.

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Newsletter

Winter 1959 Volume II Number 1

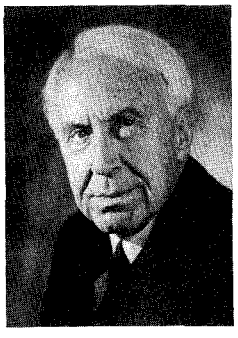
THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

EXPERTS LOOK AT EDUCATION TODAY

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEACE PLAN

"A LIVING THING IS BORN"

Raymond B. Fosdick



Raymond B. Fosdick

This year, 1959, marks the fortieth anniversary of the first serious attempt to establish a definitized system of international relationships. "A living thing is born" — these were the words with which Woodrow Wilson introduced to the Paris Peace Conference in February, 1919, the preliminary draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations. And indeed it was a living thing — not the organization itself, as Wilson thought, for its life was brief and its end was darkened with failure. What linked it to an enduring future was that it embodied in constitutional form the long hopes of mankind for peace and a rationally organized world.

In the march of history it was a forward thrust of unprecedented scope and velocity, involving marked changes in international relations — changes of approach, changes of technique, and above all, changes in public attitudes and convictions.

On the foundations of the League another organization has since been built, and still other structures may succeed the present one; but the pattern of world-wide unity through constitutional forms which Wilson traced in his speech at the Quai d'Orsay that cold February afternoon, forty years ago, has become firmly woven into the thinking of mankind.

The time has passed when any one nation can live unto itself. It cannot even die unto itself, for the whole world would then be chained to a body of death from which mortal infection would flow to the rest. Nations today are roped like Alpine climbers crossing a glacier: they survive or perish together.

(Continued on page 2)

8 ARTICLES IN PROCESS

Eight prominent leaders have accepted commissions by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation to write individual papers providing "a fresh insight and a new look" at the aims and values of contemporary American education.

Dr. Pendleton Herring, Chairman of the Foundation's Committee on "Education in the Nation's Service", has announced that three essays have already been submitted and are being readied for public distribution. These are:

"An Atmosphere to Breathe" by McGeorge Bundy, Dean at Harvard University; "Essential Tasks" by Robert F. Goheen, President of Princeton University; and "Mr. Wilson and the Nation's Need" by Archibald MacLeish of Harvard.

Other statements are expected soon from Jacques Barzun, Dean of the Faculties of Columbia University; Sir Isaiah Berlin of Oxford University; Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College; William L. Miller of the Yale Divinity School; and Logan Wilson, President of the University of Texas. In addition to these, Dr. Herring reports that three more papers have been solicited.

Training Minds for Wise Decisions

All writers were asked to consider the following question: "What might be done in American education to insure that ten or twenty years from now the young men and women educated in the United States will have obtained the basis for living fuller and more productive lives, with their minds so trained that the decisions they will have to make will be wise decisions?"

As an additional service to the public and basic to its own new program, the Foundation has published a short collection of the late president's writings, entitled: "Woodrow Wilson on Education". A forty-one page pamphlet, it is being made available, free of charge, to educational groups. The selections were chosen by August Heckscher, and the pamphlet is a reprint from his recently published book, "The Politics of Woodrow Wilson". In his introduction, Mr. Heckscher recalls that Wilson believed that "the

(Continued on page 3)

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THE POWER OF MORAL FORCE

Woodrow Wilson, who was recognized for the depth of his religious convictions, left us with an affirmation of his faith in the power of moral force in the following address. Speaking at his grandfather's church in Carlisle, England, on December 29, 1918, at the beginning of his European trip to attend the Peace Conference, Wilson said in part:

"What the world is now seeking to do is to return to the paths of duty, to turn away from the savagery of interest to the dignity of the performance of right. And I believe that as this war has drawn the nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that will be irresistible.

"It is moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as the sword. The knowledge that wrong was being attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men upon a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many nations together. They knew that an outlaw was abroad who purposed unspeakable things. It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces accumulate which presently will overbear any attempt to accomplish evil on a large scale. Like the rivulets gathering into the river and the river into the seas, there come from communities like this streams that fertilize the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world that we are trying to place upon the throne which others would usurp".

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEACE PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

This was the burden of Wilson's flaming message. It was in the days before radios or modern methods of mass communication, let alone voices from satellites circling the earth. But Wilson's voice is with us still, with its imperishable affirmation; and the hope of the world, dim at the moment as it may seem, lies in the vision which he spelled out for our generation.

NEWSLETTER

Published Occasionally By

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Assistant to the Director

LEON LEVINE
Editorial Adviser

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation is a non-membership, non-profit, educational organization incorporated under the laws of the State of New York and governed by a Board of twentyfive Directors. Established in 1922 by contributions from over 200,000 Americans, the Foundation is a permanent memorial to Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, 1912-1920, in recognition of his service to the country and to all mankind. The purpose of the Foundation is to further public understanding of major problems confronting the United States in terms of Wilson's concepts for a democracy and for world cooperation.

IN MEMORIAM WOODROW WILSON

Died February 3, 1924

"He was the personification of the heritage of idealism of the American people."

— HERBERT HOOVER, 1958

"For us today Wilson must stand not alone as the fighter for a new ideal in international relationships. He must stand for the nobility of his vision of America — a nation vibrant in freedom, austere in integrity, limitless in opportunity, earning and vindicating its hopes and ideals for the benefit of all mankind."

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., 1956

MRS. WILSON GREETS NEW SCHOOL

A special greeting from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson accompanied a gift of books from the Foundation last fall to a new elementary school in Medford, Oregon, named the Woodrow Wilson Elementary School. Fifty-three American schools are known to bear the name of the 28th President.

VIRGINIA IN PARIS CEREMONY

A bronze plaque honoring Woodrow Wilson, a gift from the State of Virginia, was placed on the facade of the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, at the end of Avenue Presidente Wilson, on October 3, 1958. George M. Cochran, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Centennial Commission of Virginia, presented the tablet in a ceremony which was the Commission's last act in commemorating the Wilson Centennial Anniversary. American and French government officials, representatives from Virginia and from the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation Inc., and tourists took part in this "Staunton day in Paris". Bearing a likeness of Wilson and official seals, the tablet names Wilson as "Friend of France", "Defender of Liberty", and "Apostle of Peace".

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NATION VIEWS WILSON FILMS ON TELEVISION

On the recent 102nd anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth, Sunday, December 28, the American people were given the opportunity, by means of a special television film, to witness the President's heart-breaking struggle for the League of Nations and his dedicated fight for a "just peace" and a cooperative union of world states.

The occasion was the presentation over the CBS Television Network of "Woodrow Wilson: The Fight for Peace", a film prepared as part of the network's "Twentieth Century" series sponsored by the Prudential Insurance Company of America. A documentary of actual newsreels, the film showed Mr. Wilson's unprecedented trips abroad, his battle with opposition Senate leaders, and his dramatic cross-country tour to bring his appeal direct to the people, and his subsequent defeat and collapse. It was narrated by Walter Cronkite and produced by Burton Benjamin. Telecast in nearly two hundred cities, the film is being made available for classroom use.

Foundation Film

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation's film, "Woodrow Wilson: Spokesman for Tomorrow" continues to receive nationwide attention with over 350 television showings during the last fifteen months in nearly 200 cities and towns to an estimated audience of close to 17 million. Sales are brisk, two-and-a-half years since the film was released, and prints are being circulated across the country by schools, libraries, educational groups and others.

(Continued from page 1)

aim of education was to fit men for life in the larger and more various community of the nation".

Wilson's Philosophy

Defining his philosophy in part, Wilson said: "The chief glory of a university is the leadership of the nation in the things that attach to the highest ambitions that nations can set themselves. Education, in a country like ours, is a branch of statesmanship.

"The ideal at the heart of the American University is intellectual training, the awakening of the whole man, the thorough introduction of the student to the life of America and of the modern world, the completion of the tasks undertaken by the grammar and high schools of equipping him for the full duties of citizenship".

"COVERING THE UN"

The Foundation's Board of Directors recently gave a small grant to Women United for the United Nations in support of their weekly publication, *Covering the UN*. Containing newsbriefs about little-known humanitarian activities of the United Nations, *Covering the UN* is designed to inform Americans more fully about the work of international organizations. It is circulated through the National Editorial Association to local newspapers across the country.

WASHINGTON OFFICE FOR PAPERS AND LETTERS PROJECT

Dr. John Wells Davidson, Associate Editor of the Woodrow Wilson Papers and Letters Project, has established an office in the Library of Congress in Washington, where initial steps are being taken in the work of editing the Papers. Wilson documents in the Library are being examined, filed, microfilmed and photoduplicated, and consultations have been held with authorities at Princeton University.

Mrs. Helga Sandburg Golby, daughter of Carl Sandburg, and an author herself, is the Administrative Assistant. Mrs. Golby brings wide experience with manuscripts, as well as her literary background, to this important task.

KISSINGER-TUGWELL

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for 1958 was given jointly to Henry A. Kissinger for his book, "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy", and to Rexford B. Tugwell, author of "The Democratic Roosevelt". The cash awards of $500 each were presented by August Heckscher, President of the Foundation, at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Established in 1948, the Award is given "to encourage significant research and reflection in the field of politics, government and international relations".

TEACHER FELLOWSHIPS

Dr. Hugh Taylor, President of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, has announced the removal of headquarters from Ann Arbor, Mich. and the establishment of a new office at 32 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J. Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt, formerly of Columbia University, has been appointed National Director.

WHAT IS A COLLEGE FOR?

Some fifty years ago *Scribner's Magazine* published an article which aroused national attention. It was entitled "What Is A College For?" and the author was Woodrow Wilson. This same article has been selected as the basic working paper for a two-day conference to be held this April in Oxford, Ohio, as part of the 150th anniversary of Miami University. Delegates to the conference, which is being held in cooperation with the Humanities Center of the University of Massachusetts, will be asked to answer this question: What is a college for? as they examine the needs of the modern college against the background of President Wilson's concepts.

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LATEST WILSONIANA

Carroll, Holbert N., "The House of Representatives and Foreign Affairs", Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958, 365pp.

Fosdick, Raymond B., "A Chronicle of a Generation", N. Y.: Harpers, 1958, 306pp.

Martin, Lawrence, W., "Peace Without Victory", New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958, 230pp.

Mowry, George E., "The Progressive Movement 1900-1920: Recent Ideas and New Literature", Washington, D.C.: Service Center for Teachers of History, 1958, 22pp.

Turner, Henry A., "Woodrow Wilson and Public Opinion", *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Winter 1957-8, p.505-21.

FILMS

Woodrow Wilson: The Fight for Peace, a CBS film of the *Twentieth Century* series may be borrowed, free of charge, from the sponsor, the Prudential Insurance Company, Education Department, Box 36, Newark, N. J.

Woodrow Wilson: Spokesman for Tomorrow, produced by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, a 16mm, black and white, 27-minute documentary film, is distributed by McGraw-Hill Text-Film Department, 330 W. 42 St., N. Y. 36. Discussion guides for use with the film are available free from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

DIRECTORS IN THE NEWS

Of interest to friends of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation are the varied activities of some of the twenty-seven Directors who are elected to govern the organization. Harold W. Dodds, former President of Princeton University, is directing a study of the college and university presidency, under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; the autobiography of Raymond B. Fosdick, former President of the Rockefeller Foundation, has just been published by Harpers under the title of "A Chronicle of a Generation"; Senator J. W. Fulbright is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which has been appointed to direct the full Committee's examination of U.S. foreign policy; "The Coming of the New Deal" is the second volume on the Age of Roosevelt by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Harvard professor of history; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, civic leader, spent a month in Africa, with women leaders in the fields of education and social welfare; and Mrs. Quincy Wright, has returned from a year in India, where her husband was guest lecturer at the University of New Delhi.

NEW COURSES FOR TEACHERS

As in previous years, the Foundation will sponsor an In-Service Credit Course on the United Nations this spring for public school teachers in metropolitan New York. "Peoples, Their Governments and the United Nations" is a fifteen-week series of lectures by officials from various governments. It will open in February with an overall analysis of the UN by a leading authority in international affairs and will close in early June with tours of the UN and of the World Affairs Center for the United States.

FOUNDATION SPONSORED

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation has assisted in the publication of the following books, which are available from the publishers:

A Crossroads of Freedom: The 1912 Campaign Speeches of Woodrow Wilson. Edited by John W. Davidson. Introduction by Charles Seymour. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956. 570p. $6.

The Philosophy and Policies of Woodrow Wilson. Edited by Earl Latham. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. 267p. $5.

The Politics of Woodrow Wilson. Selections from His Speeches and Writings. Edited, with an Introduction, by August Heckscher. N. Y.: Harpers, 1956. 389p. $5.

Woodrow Wilson, American Prophet; Woodrow Wilson, World Prophet. Arthur Walworth. 2 vols. N. Y.: Longmans Green, 1958. 875p. $15.

BIOGRAPHY REPRINTED

Due to a widespread demand for a popular biography of President Wilson, the Foundation has recently reprinted "The Story of Woodrow Wilson" by David Loth. Revised in 1957 to include program suggestions, the 56-page pamphlet is circulated free upon request.

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Vol. XVI, No. 4 HUMAN EVENTS January 28, 1959
Article Section II
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Apologists for the "National Defense Education Act"—passed at the last session of Congress—claim that it will help raise the level of scholarship in American schools. One device for improving academic standards, they claim, is the "testing and guidance" provision of the Act, which makes it obligatory for every state educational agency, in order to receive Federal funds, to institute programs of "guidance" for its students. The article below, written by a teacher in a large public high school, explains how the "guidance office," far from improving scholastic standards, can have exactly the opposite effect.

The Guidance Office

By FAMULUS

THE GUIDANCE departments of our public schools, frequently discussed by HUMAN EVENTS as agencies designed to condition school children towards collectivism and "togetherness," are an outgrowth of our rapidly increasing mechanization and bureaucratization. Unless you serve as a teacher, a cog in the machine of a modern school system, you have no idea of the degree to which guidance interferes with actual teaching. Let a high school teacher "in service" tell you some of his actual experiences.

Our high school, in a pleasant residential community on the Eastern seaboard, comprises a student body of 1500 students. In the course of the day, I meet twice with my 30 home room students, for the roll call at the beginning and the end of the school day, once with the 30 students of my study hall, and once with the about 150 students of the five classes which I teach. Once every six weeks I must write out report cards on the about 180 students of my classes and the study hall.

Officially, I have the opportunity to meet with my 180 students during the 45-minute consultation period and, at the end of the day, during ninth period, which is theoretically devoted to individual tutoring, counseling, and make-up exams. In reality, ninth period at best functions once a week; for this time is usually taken up by club meetings, department meetings, faculty meetings, group projects, child study conferences, committee meetings, county teachers' association conferences, outside curricular activities planning groups, and ever recurrent meetings with visiting specialists from the state capital.

Faced with such competition for school time, I have little opportunity to become acquainted with my students. The guidance office, not I, is to take care of their personal problems. Its offices, housing six full-time officials, are situated opposite that of the principal's office, on the ground floor. But they extend to the offices of the three psychologists, which are joined to the offices of the assistant principal, the administrative officer, and the nurses' office.

If a student conducts himself improperly, which happens every day in every class, I can notify either the offices of the principal, the assistant principal and the administrative officer, or the guidance office. In the former case, the delinquent student is admonished and possibly punished (by detention, suspension, *etc.*, according to the severity of the case); in the latter, his problem is handled the soft way. The guidance officers have informed me that I should not send any troublemakers to the administrative offices; for by doing this, they claim, I prove that I am unable to handle my charges. By sending the latter to the guidance office, they have told me, I prove that I am the students' friend.

THE GUIDANCE officers have never visibly improved the status of any student whose case I have brought to their attention. By talking to the student, however, they usually find out about my teaching. Conveniently, the students in question tell them that they don't like me and ask to be transferred to another section. Often, students who receive bad marks in my tests go to the guidance office without my knowing it. Then, out of a blue sky, I receive a slip, notifying me that they are being transferred to another class, which, it is believed, will be more congenial. That means that they expect it to be easier. Thus the guidance office is often in conspiracy with loafers against teachers who, adhering to a certain standard, refuse to go soft.

After the guidance office has informed me half a dozen times that certain students "feel" they don't learn anything in my classes, I can save my tottering reputation by cancelling most of the home assignments and overlooking the students' negligence regarding homework. By choosing to uphold my concept of achievement, I soon arouse the suspicion and animosity of the guidance office, which labels me as old-fashioned and unfriendly.

Every day I receive notices from the guidance office that such and such a student will be absent from class because he is to take aptitude tests. Every day, I am notified that such and such a student has not attended my class because he has been in consultation with the guidance office.

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This often happens on a test day, which results in my additional duty to work out, and give, make-up tests. Three days a week three successive classes do not meet because all students are subjected to a new battery of tests in aptitude, skills, *etc.* These tests are scored mechanically, and then added to the student's permanent record.

When I write letters of complaint, officially labeled as "progress reports," to the parents of students who disrupt classes by throwing around books, wet paper balls, bubble gum, *etc.*, who fail to bring along their textbooks or refuse to open them, or throw them out of the window, I must first consult their voluminous record. The "progress report" is filed in duplicate, the carbon copy being added to their permanent record.

Once a week, after school, I read a carefully prepared report on one of my home room students to my section of the "child study conference." I report on conditions in the student's home, his parents, brothers and sisters, his hobbies, preferences of subjects, *etc.* I will tell a dozen colleagues of the faculty that Richard Jones was allegedly nervous in kindergarten, a loafer in the first grade, no great shakes in the third, sulking in the fifth, a habitual boaster in the seventh, chronically tardy in the ninth, and so forth. Written statements from every one of his present teachers amplify my report. At the end, the representative of the guidance office is charged with doing something about Richard. In all likelihood, he will telephone his parents or talk to him at a time when he is supposed to take a test. It is quite likely that Richard will blame his difficulties on his teachers, knowing that as a matter of policy the guidance office will lend him a sympathetic ear.

IN A GREAT many cases, the guidance office decides that the student, having taken only about a dozen aptitude and intelligence tests, is still an unknown quantity. In league with the bureaucrats at the county seat, the guidance office then decides to send him there, along with a busload of other students, for a full day's fun of additional tests. The student is transported to the county seat in a bus belonging to the school system. The taxpayer supports the guidance office, the bus, and the county examiners.

It will probably be decided that the student, hostile to taking academic subjects, is to take courses in home economics, "auto electric," beauty culture, or any of a number of nonacademic subjects. In scores of cases, the student is a veteran of truancy, who goes on the sick list whenever he has accumulated an uncomfortable amount of detention periods. He just won't show up for class, consultation, detention, and all. He knows that he won't be dismissed from school, and that finally all will be forgiven.

Every now and then, another student, apparently a healthy child who has grown tired of the system, no longer shows up in class. It develops that the guidance office has sent him across the hall, to the psychologists. Once that happens, he is thrown out of gear for good. The psychologists inform his teacher that he is a serious case, greatly troubled, and therefore unfit to attend classes for a while. From that time on, he spends most of the time in the psychologists' offices. When, weeks later, he returns to classes, there is no use in asking him to make up the work he has lost. We all must be happy that he has been "saved," and that he is able to go to class again. But the classroom teacher does not have the faintest idea as to what was wrong with him in the first place. It is all quite mysterious, except for the fact that it costs the taxpayer plenty of money.

If the teacher makes a special request, he can get hold of the psychologists' reports on the special cases, voluminous documents which are difficult to absorb in the midst of tending to other duties. Few teachers manage to go into the matter. It is the concern of the psychologists and the guidance department.

It is not contended here that no student is in need of special attention, and that no guidance at all is desirable. However, as many a teacher can point out, a great many students become "cases" because they are sick and tired of the educational system, the machine, the boring routine. Many, as an escape from duty, take refuge in the labyrinthine channels of the guidance office and the psychologists' department. The guidance office is the paradise of all those students who refuse to work, and who demand special privileges.

That in numerous instances the guidance office is staffed with persons who use their influence and power to inculcate their peculiar ideas of "progress" in the students who seek their help, or are referred to them, has been explained previously in the columns of HUMAN EVENTS. What is not generally known is the plain fact that the guidance office all too often has become more of a nuisance than a help. It takes much authority from the classroom teacher, deprives him of firm ground on which to stand in his own attempts to guide the intellectual development of his students, messes up his teaching schedule and offers solace to those who are too lazy to do their duty. In all too many cases, the guidance office, as I know it, is a bureaucratic cancer within the education hierarchy.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 408 First Street, SE, Washington 3, D.C. and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. $11 per year.
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